Report from the Montgomery, Ala., Battlefront

Ala. Legislature Seen in Action On Racist Bills

By William Bundy

MONTGOMERY, ALA., March 4 — The Alabama legislature is presently meeting here in a special session, convened March 1, to discuss the educational budget, but kept alive to be ready to counter any anti-segregation moves quickly.

Opening day a number of bills attacking desegregation were introduced. One, which passed the Senate without dissent and is now before a house committee would ask the U.S. Congress to spread "Negroes among the several Northern and Western states, the areas where Negroes are wanted and can be assimilated."

Another which is halfway through the legislature would establish a committee to investigate any group "suspected of having subversive tendencies." It specifically mentions the NAACP and the Communist Party. This bill is expected to pass. It would allow the racist legislators to subpoena witnesses and records.

A third measure would make available to the racist legislators the names of those Alabama University students who petitioned the school to re-instate Negro coed Autherine Lucy.

THE LAW-MAKERS

I attended the March 2 session of this legislature to see these representatives of the "Southern Way of Life" in action. When I entered the capital, both houses were in session together as a committee-of-the-whole to discuss cuts in the proposed educational budget.

A committee member was reading a report listing the proposed cuts. (The all-white University of Alabama with 7,000 enrolled was cut $205,000, while the all-Negro Alabama State College with an enrollment of 2,500 was cut $250 000).

Some of the solons lounged in their leather-padded chairs, reading newpapers and drinking cokes. A few listened attentively. One fat, white-haired legislator lay sprawled across three chairs. On the wall behind the speaker's table could be seen a large plaque inscribed: "In this hall the ordinance of Secession which withdrew Alabama from the Union of Sovereign States was passed Jan. 11, 1861."

I couldn't really blame the lounging law-makers, the discussion was dull. At length, one athletic looking young representative took the mike to speak against further cuts for the University of Alabama:

"We must remember," he said, 'how courageously the president of that University faced a court decision ordering him to do something which he could not do because it was directly opposed to the desires of the people of Alabama."

PEOPLE NOT REPRESENTED

The people of Alabama! They are poorly represented here. One third of the state's population, the Negroes, are not represented at all. The only Negroes present here were white-jacketed Kilbee State Prison inmates who open windows and turn on fans for the comfort of these "representatives of the people."

The white majority is not

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THE MILITANT

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Racists Handed Big Victory By Democrats in U.S. Senate

Monopolists Want Second Term for Pres. Eisenhower

"The announcement by President Eisenhower of his intention to run for a second term, despite his recent heart attack, reflects the frantic determination of Big Business to continue its control of the federal government directly for another four years," said Farrell Dobbs, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Under Eisenhower and his billionaire cabinet," Dobbs added, "Big Business has been able to brazenly loot the resources of the country for the private profit of monopoly interests. The services of the Democratic Party, useful to the monopolists when they required a conciliatory check on the labor movement, for the time being are not wanted.

"The Republican Party, as in 1952, will try to represent Eisenhower as a man of peace. 'Didn't the Democrats run the administration during two world wars and the bloody Korean debacle?' they will say. It was Eisenhower's demagogic promise to end the Korean war — which had already been lost — that gave him his popular support in the 1952 campaign," Dobbs recalled.

"War is required by the capitalist system to maintain itself against the growing revolt of the people throughout the world. The fact that the Republicans bear equal responsibility for these capitalist-made wars — the fact that foreign policy has always been a bipartisan affair — is not even mentioned by the Big Business dominated press," Dobbs observed.

"Only the Socialist Workers Party can lay legitimate claim to being an anti-war party. It alone conducted a principled struggle against the imperialist wars of the last two decades. For our opposition to imperialist war we served time in 1944 in the federal prisons of the U.S.

"We are confident that the American people in the near future will see through this fraud created by the greatest publicity campaign in U.S. history. The working class, forced by its own need to defend its organizations from the growing union-busting attacks of Big Business, will join the Negro people who are already engaged in a militant struggle for their civil rights. The working people will see through the deceptions of the two capitalist parties. They will create a party of their own, a party for labor, the farmers and the minority peoples," Dobbs predicted.

New Chairman of Senate Judiciary Committee

Eastland Appointment Brings Sharp Protest From Negro Leaders

By Harry Ring

MARCH 7 — Both gains and setbacks were registered on each side of the battle line as the struggle for civil rights raged across the United States last week. Support grew for a March 28 "Deliverance Day" of prayer and protest **against the arrest of leaders of the Montgomery, Ala., anti-Jim Crow protest movement. At the same time the white supremacists scored a major victory in Washington, D.C., when the U.S. Senate voted to hand the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee to racist Senator Eastland of Mississippi with but two dissenting votes.**

Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, bitterly assailed the Senators who voted for Eastland as "guilty of looking the other way when a mad dog is loose in the streets of justice." The Judiciary Committee has immediate jurisdiction over almost all civil rights legislation.

The immediate responsibility for handing this new prize to the "mad dog" rests squarely on the shoulders of the Democratic party. The disgraceful action in the Senate was unanimously proposed by the Democratic steering committee. But the Republicans are determined not to be outdone in grovelling before the racists.

In his January message to Congress, Eisenhower specifically promised to present a civil right program in short order. Since that time there have been reports on a "stiff" civil right program being drawn up by Attorney General Brownell. All of these "reports" have now been dispelled.

PROMISES CANCELLED

The authoritative N.Y. Times reported today that the Justice Department has decided to hold back any recommendations to Congress on civil rights "to avoid growing racial tensions in the South."

How phony can these politicians get with their excuses? There is a campaign of terror against Negroes in the South. The Administration promises to present legislation to protect the Negro people against the terror. And then the legislation is dumped because the terror is mounting!

The continuing refusal of the federal government to enforce the U.S. Constitution has greatly emboldened the Southern racists. On Feb. 29 a Federal District Judge ordered the University of Alabama to reinstate Miss Autherine Lucy who had been stoned from the campus, Feb. 6, and then suspended by the University officials. Within 12 hours after the reinstatement order the Board of Trustees brazenly expelled Miss Lucy because she had charged they had conspired with the mob to get her off the campus.

The same day this same ugly contempt for law was expressed in Columbus, Georgia, where a

(Continued on page 4)

After 20 Weeks on Strike

Striking workers at the Westinghouse Electric Corp. plant in Pittsburgh file claims for jobless pay following ruling of Penn. Unemployment Compensation Board that the strike is a lockout.

Twenty-six officials and members of Local 107, United Electrical Workers, independent, were railroaded to prison, March 2, for an indefinite term on contempt of court charges. The local has been on strike against Westinghouse Corporation at the Lester, Pa., plant since Oct. 14 for higher wages and other contract changes.

The unionists had been ordered to pay $22,000 in fines for allegedly violating a court injunction against mass picketing, but refused to pay it. "We go to jail," said Carl Gray, local president, "rather than permit our members to be deprived of a single bite of food of the modest relief aid we can give them from the contributions of area residents."

Workers at nearby plants immediately pledged new support after the jailing. UAW workers at a nearby Ford Assembly plant pledged $5,000 and the deed to their union building.

Both Parties Exposed At Civil Rights Confab

By George Lavan

WASHINGTON, D.C., March 6 —One of the high spots of the Civil Rights Assembly, which concluded here today, was the way the 2,500 delegates played off two top politicians — one a Republican, the other a Democrat — against each other, thus exposing both parties on the civil rights question.

This occurred last night when Paul M. Butler, Democratic National Chairman, and Republican Congressman Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania appeared before the Assembly to woo Negro votes for their respective parties.

Rep. Scott, chosen for the task by the Republican managers because he has supported some civil rights bills, was received in friendly fashion by the audience. They applauded his mention of gains made in past years and his attacks on the Democratic leadership in Congress for sabotaging all moves to get a vote on civil rights bills. Encouraged by the reception, Scott, at the end of his prepared speech, cited from his own experience how embarrassing it was abroad for salesmen for the "free world" to be taunted about Jim Crow in America.

He told how in Berlin he was interviewed by a youth delegation from East Germany: "Almost their first question was whether segregation was still being practiced on railroads in the U.S. and what was being done about it." **The audience broke into great applause and shouts for the question of the East German youth. One delegate, whose voice carried throughout the auditorium, advised: "All you had to do was answer 'nothing.'" Similar anecdotes by Scott about his trip to Asia evoked tremendous response from the audience.**

Democratic National Chairman Butler, perhaps disturbed by the response given his Republican opponent and emboldened by the knowledge that he was the last speaker, tried to outdo Scott in

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant Negro leader from Mississippi told a press conference in New York March 8 that he was for use of federal troops to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro people in the South. Dr. Howard said: "I believe the federal government should issue an ultimatum to the South or the President or the Department of Justice should make a very strong statement. Then if there is no compliance federal troops should be sent."

An Open Letter To Labor Leaders

By the Editors

Dear Brothers Meany and Reuther:

Many times you have said you were against racial discrimination and for a complete end to Jim Crow.

Now the time has come for you to **do** something about it. Increasingly, the Negro people are going into organized action to win their rights, and they urgently need your help.

Leading Negro clergymen have proclaimed March 28 as Deliverance Day of Prayer and Protest. There is a growing movement of nation-wide scope for all Negroes on that day to stop work for one hour in protest against the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott arrests.

This would be a powerful blow at the racists. But there is also uncertainty and opposition to the plan. Your commitment is needed to put the action across.

The New York Amsterdam News — a leading Negro newspaper — declares editorially, March 3: "There is one element in our society whose support could well insure the support of the majority of the country's Negroes in a one-hour work stoppage. If labor's leaders would state unequivocably that they will support this one-hour protest it would be highly effective."

All you are asked to do is guarantee union protection to every Negro worker striking for one hour for his people's democratic rights. Though not asked to do so, you could do even more: You could declare a nation-wide work stoppage of **all** labor in solidarity with the Montgomery boycotters.

But will you do even as much as you are asked? "Now is the time, while the movement is in its organizing stage, for these leaders to speak out," says the Amsterdam News. "Work stoppages are no new idea to labor which has used this means often in the past to reach their ends."

"With their support, the Deliverance Day of Prayer could be a complete success. We are waiting anxiously to hear from them."

Brothers Meany and Reuther, you have the floor.

What the Kremlin Now Admits About Stalin Cult

By M. Stein and J. G. Wright

At the 20th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, the Kremlin bureaucrats found themselves compelled to repudiate the Stalin cult. They were unable to deny any longer the harm done to the Soviet Union by Stalin's rule. This repudiation inescapably poses the question of the whole record of bureaucratic rule under Stalin. It brings to the fore the struggle waged against the Soviet bureaucracy by Leon Trotsky.

He was the first not only to take up the struggle against Stalin but also to analyze and explain the process whereby the Bolshevik party was destroyed by the bureaucracy which became transformed into an all-powerful, privileged caste. Trotsky showed what the social conditions were that facilitated bureaucratic ascendancy, enabled the caste to seize the apparatus of the workers' state and to transform the party and the state machines from weapons of the working class into weapons of bureaucratic violence against the working class. Trotsky long ago laid bare the essence of Stalin's rule and the cult of Stalin.

WHAT BECAME OF PARTY?

In an article entitled, "On the Eve of the Congress," i.e., on the eve of the 17th Party Congress, Jan. 26 to Feb. 10, 1934, Trotsky wrote the following:

"There is an absolutely self-evident connection between deifying the leader and the leaders—local leaders are likewise deified within the limits of a definite territory—and the violation of the party statutes, the suppression of criticism of the top leaders, the convocation of congresses at arbitrary intervals, after even more arbitrary purges of the party. All these phenomena in their entirety mean the liquidation of the party as an active political whole that checks, elects and renews its apparatus. The first question which arises before the 17th Congress is: Where and why did the Bolshevik party disappear?" (Bulletin of the Russian Opposition, No. 38-39, February 1934.)

Twenty-two years later Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier, mounted the rostrum to admit that: "In the course of about 20 years, we in fact had no collective leadership, instead there flourished the cult of the individual, condemned already by Marx and afterwards by Lenin, and this, of course, could not but exert an extremely negative influence on the situation within the party and on its activities." (Pravda, Feb. 18, 1956).

Mikoyan, one of Stalin's early henchmen, thus confirmed that for at least the last twenty years under Stalin, one-man rule had been substituted for the "party as an active political whole." As Trotsky charged, Stalin had liquidated the Bolshevik party.

Kaganovich, First Deputy Premier, said, "After the 19th Party Congress the Central Committee raised boldly — and I mean ideological boldness, boldness in principle and theory — the question of the struggle against the cult of the individual. This is not an easy question. But the Central Committee gave it a correct, Marxist-Leninist, party answer. The cult of the individual is a harmful cult, it minimizes the masses, the party and its leading cadres" (Pravda, Feb. 21).

Other speakers took the floor in order to confirm in effect what Trotsky had called the "self-evident connection" between the leader cult and the liquidation of the Bolshevik party. For example, Mustafayev, delegate from the Azerbajan Soviet Republic, said: "The cult of the individual has dealt enormous harm to the correct education of the cadres in our Republic, because the cult of the individual is accompanied by individualism, egoism, careerism, flattery, sycophancy" (Same source). Lenin's party, resting on the vanguard of the workers, had been replaced by self-seekers, careerists, flatterers, sycophants, as Trotsky had charged.

The leader cult set the norms not only for the party and the state machines but also for art and culture. "The novel, the opera, the cinema, painting, sculpture, even agricultural exhibitions, everything has to revolve around Stalin as around its axis. Literature and art of the Stalinist epoch will go down in history as examples of the most absurd and abject Byzantinism. The great writer, Alexis Tolstoy, who bears the name of the mightiest and most independent of the country's writers [Leo Tolstoy] wrote about Stalin:

Thou bright sun of the nations,
The unsinking sun of our times,
And more than the sun, for the sun has no wisdom . . ."
(Stalin, a biography by Leon Trotsky, page 394).

HISTORY FALSIFIED

The leader cult caused havoc on the "ideological front." Khrushchev led off by repudiating the "History" of the CPSU, published in 1938, with Stalin as editor and by issuing a directive for the publication of "a popular Marxist textbook on party history, based on historical facts." In the ideology of the whole Stalin era, the bureaucracy can find little it can salvage.

Mikoyan listed the "damage" in economics, in propaganda work, in history, in philosophy, etc. He not only attacked Stalin by name as having made a false economic analysis of postwar imperialism in his Economic Problems of USSR, but added: "By the way, I cannot but note that certain other propositions in the 'Economic Problems,' when rigorously examined, also require deep study and critical revision from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism by our economists." (Pravda, Feb. 18).

Mikoyan then blamed the "unsatisfactory condition of our propaganda work" primarily on Stalin's "History" of the CPSU. "One of the main reasons for it," he announced, "is this, that our study of Marxism-Leninism is conducted as a rule by using the brief [Stalin's] course of the history of the party as the sole textbook. This is, of course, wrong."

There has been literally a flood of Soviet textbooks on

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Stalinism In the U. S.

By Art Sharon

What do the ranks of the American Communist Party think of the recent developments in the Soviet Union? What are their thoughts as they read of the campaign opened against the Stalin cult?

From the pages of their newspaper, the Daily Worker, they are getting the news in small and well-spaced doses. The DW first broke the news on Feb. 20 with a report on Mikoyan's speech. DW readers were told that Mikoyan criticized Stalin's economic thesis and further that there were certain weaknesses in Soviet historical writing.

Then after two weeks of almost complete silence on this theme the Daily Worker, March 5, reported the speech of German Communist party leader Walter Ulbricht, who attacked Stalin directly and denied his writings a place among the Marxist classics.

DW gave the item a bare four inches on page two and introduced it with, "according to press agency dispatches yesterday from Berlin." No comment, —no explanation,—no promise to give further information—nothing. The CP member must turn to the capitalist press and get the more extensive quotations.

Then central criticism made of Stalin at the 20th Congress was his "cult of personality." What is this cult? Where did it come from? How did it become established? These obvious questions spring up at once but apparently there is no one on the staff of the DW to hazard an answer.

The Stalin cult was the crowning achievement of the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union. It is part of the whole ideology and politics known as Stalinism.

A WORLD-WIDE CULT

The Stalin cult came into existence through a sanguinary civil war that tore the proletarian heart and guts out of the Bolshevik party. Stalin established his rule through police terror. His regime became firmly established only after the devoted and critical-minded Russian Bolsheviks were either murdered, deported, or terrorized into submission. These are the well established historical facts. And we can count on their being grudgingly confirmed by the Khrushchevs as the campaign against the Stalin cult unfolds.

But this was not something confined to the Soviet party. The Stalin cult became a world-wide power in the Communist parties everywhere. Communist parties were taken over, reorganized, or smashed. Leaders who parroted the Stalin line were put into control. Later these were removed and others took their place in endless purges directed against any independent thought or initiative.

The American party was no exception. It fell victim to the Stalin cult very early in its history. Jay Lovestone, who had the majority of the American party supporting him in 1929, was summarily removed through the device of a telegram from the chiefs of the Stalin cult. Foster was appointed in his place. Earl Browder was elevated and he in turn built a Browder cult that ruled the American CP until his turn came, and to the bewilderment of the party ranks he too was thrown out. Then Eugene Dennis became the top leader. This was the Stalin cult in operation.

The process was brutal and demoralizing. This explains, in part, why so many demoralized functionaries whose communism was never more than skin deep turned informer when the heat was turned on. Such a regime only succeeded in building machine men — it could never build and educate cadres of revolutionary leaders.

STALINIST POLITICS

The stifling of party democracy and its replacement by the rule of a bureaucratic machine, is only one aspect of the Stalin cult. An examination of Stalinism can take on meaning only when the class nature of its politics and program is probed. Without such an examination all talk about cultism remains up in the air — exactly where Khrushchev and company want to keep it.

Stalinism is above all the politics of petty-bourgeois reformist opportunism within the international labor movement. To assess its true nature it will be necessary for the serious communist workers and youth to study Stalinism in the test of war and revolution, in the U.S. and abroad. Such an assessment must include the following:

On the world arena: the role of the Stalinist theory of "a bloc of four classes" in the Second Chinese revolution, 1925-27; the role of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee in the British General Strike, 1926; the role of Stalin's theory of "social fascism" and "united front from below" in the victory of Hitler over the German working class, 1933; the Stalin-Laval pact of 1934 which sold French imperialism the support of the Communist party in return for a military agreement; the Stalinist strategy of peoples' front in the Spanish Civil War and the French General Strike, 1936; the function of the line adopted during the Stalin-Hitler pact in demoralizing the revolutionary vanguard, 1939-41; the pro-democratic imperialist line followed during World War II, including the function of Stalin's deals with Churchill and Roosevelt at Yalta in derailing the post-war revolutionary uprising of the European working class; and the bureaucratic-military policy of Stalin in Eastern Europe which resulted in the frame-up of the Titoists and the suppression of the June 17, 1953, East German uprising of the entire industrial working class.

A study of these questions will lead inescapably to the social and economic roots of the rise of Stalinism in the USSR and the struggle between the bureaucratic caste and the Trotskyist left opposition.

STALINISM IN THE U.S.

In the United States: the politics of Stalinism as a world-wide tendency in the workers' movement shaped the basic line of the American Communist party at every stage. The wrecking of the CP as an independent revolutionary party culminated in the dissolution of the party during World War II and its prostration before American imperialism. The American Stalinists became the most strident advocates of the "no strike pledge"; they joined in the red-baiting and FBI-hounding of militants in the unions; they attacked the strike of the coal miners as treason; they supported strike-breaking and speed-up; they supported and cheered the imprisonment of 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders under the Smith Act. To this day the radical workers remember the shameful role played by the Stalinists during the war.

Thus, everything in the history of the American CP, from the expulsion of the American left opposition, through the "third period" of dual unionism, through the support of Roosevelt's New Deal, through the adventure with a capitalist savior in the Wallace party, up to the present policy of supporting the Democratic party and conciliation with the trade union bureaucracy, must be subjected to a thorough study and criticism.

Stalinism took shape and grew strong in an epoch of ebb-tide of the world revolution. Now with the powerful rise of the revolutionary tide following World War II, expressed above all in the anti-capitalist victory of the Chinese revolution, Stalinism is beginning to crack up. When the world revolutionary tide reaches the shores of the U.S., as it is bound to do, hundreds of thousands of young revolutionary militants will flock to the radical movement. These militants will seek answers; they will not accept half-truths and evasions; they will demand the truth and the whole truth.

PREPARE NOW

Now is the time for the American revolutionary-minded workers to prepare themselves ideologically for this new wave of radicalism. The first task in such a preparation is to study the history of the movement, to learn the lessons and to draw the conclusions. The "forbidden books" of Trotsky will have to be opened to accomplish this vital task. And we are confident that bureaucratic edicts of the Stalinist functionaries will not prevent serious Communist workers from finding these books.

Twin Cities Labor Forum

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Milton Siegel
Packinghouse Worker and UPWA Leader

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Speaks on
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What Is Automation?

By Robert Chester

Exactly what is automation? Although the term was coined less than a decade ago, it has been used to describe so many things, that the coiners themselves find it hard to pin down.

The only proper approach is to extract out of the whole development what is new and different. As a stage in technology, automation must be separated from the previous stages, especially that of mechanization. Almost everyone has marveled at mechanical wonders from the time of his childhood. The automatic bread bakery, cigarette maker, car loader or automatic printing press are nothing new.

AUTOMATIC CONTROL

What is new is the development of a whole range of methods of **automatic control**, whereby a mechanism can adjust itself by self-regulation to changing conditions. These automatic controls operate through a system of **feed-back**, where information about the output is relayed back, automatically correcting any errors or deviations. This ability, the self-control over a multitude of individual and connected machine processes, is the heart of automation.

Automatic controls can inspect and feed-back corrections on heat, light, color, thickness, viscosity, mechanical flaws and many other qualities. In handling materials between machines, controls can sort out, clasify or reject. There are few processes in modern production that cannot be adapted to automation.

There is, in addition, an entire class of controls that can give complex "orders" to machines. Foremost among these are the computers, the "electronic brains." They can solve intricate mathematical problems in a remarkably short time and transmit their findings to machines for action.

Thus automation can be defined as machines that are self-controlling or operate under the guidance of automatic controls. Dr. Norbert Weiner of Massachusetts Institute of Technology coined the word "cybernetics" which he prefers to the abused term automation. "We have decided to call the entire field of control and communications theory," he wrote, "whether by machine or animal, by the name Cybernetics, which we form from the Greek word steersman. We also wish to refer to the fact that the steering engines of a ship are indeed one of the earliest and best developed forms of feed-back mechanisms."

The technology for automation was developed during the Second World War, in the atomic projects, in building electronic controls for firing and tracking equipment as well as for guided missiles. By 1947 scientists and engineers were studying their application to industry. By 1952 the techniques were in practice.

A GOOD EXAMPLE

A graphic description of an automated plant was presented by Norman Depoe, writing in MacLean's Magazine Oct. 11, 1955 under the title, "Will a Machine Take Your Job?"

"The Chevrolet plant at St. Catherine's, Canada, houses what is probably the largest and most famous machine in the world today. It is almost two city blocks long and carries its own railroad within its bowels. At any one time 104 rough-cast V-8 cylinder blocks are riding it from station to station, being machined. At one station a block will be drilled, at another milled, at a third inspected and so on, through 555 operations. At one station it will be turned and tilted for a boring cutter to get at it and then up-ended and shaken to get the chips out. In another, an instrument will tap its chest and if it groans in a sick way, will throw it aside. All this without a man to help. . .

"A 'toolometer' counts the number of operations each tool performs. When the tool's life expectancy is exhausted, a red light flashes and the tool is replaced.

"The line will turn out 70 fully machined blocks an hour with the expenditure of less than a third of a man-hour of human labor on each. 'The work' is accomplished with only 27 men. In a few months with further automatic controls the number will be cut to 21."

The first effect of automation is to displace workers. Former workers are either retrained or squeezed out, while fewer workers, more highly trained, operate and maintain the new equipment. In this respect automation has the same effects as did mechanization in previous decades, except automation speeds up the process.

Another effect is that productivity is so enhanced that ever-increasing segments of the economy are forced to adopt automation under pressure of competition, thus increasing its general impact.

SKILLED WORKERS HIT

Skilled workers, like tool and die men, are as subject to displacement as a production line worker.

The MacLean article says: "There's a million dollar machine being installed at the Convair plant in California which is capable of eighteen different machining operations. All that is needed is a blueprint of a newly designed part, which no one has ever made or seen. Engineers can punch out instructions on a tape which will tell the electronic brain what tool strokes are required to make it . . . this machine can switch from one kind of a part-making to another as fast as instruction tapes can be changed."

Office workers are also subject to the inroads of automation. The computer has shown the ability to displace the most efficient clerk or accountant. Writing in the July 23, 1955, Nation, Bernard Nossiter points out: "Prudential Life replaced 86 machines with one International Business Machines (newest model) '702.' It will service 80,000 claims a day, sending out annually ten million premium notices and accounting for an equal number of remittances.

"National City Bank put a trial problem to an IBM device that normally requires 1,000 man hours; the machine did the job in nine and one half minutes. Prudential's machine now does the work of 200 people."

In the retail field electronic clerks are moving into the accounting department. J. W. Corey, president of the Reliance Electric and Engineering Company writes in the magazine Automation: " . . . nothing is as worthless as an operating report a month old. How can we expect good control of expenses unless costs are known quickly and corrections made quickly . . . An office must automate just as the factory does."

Automation is moving into small production as well as large. Automation magazine notes: "Price tags on automatic machines go from above $1 million to as low as $1,500." Testifying at the Senate-House Subcommittee hearings, Walter S. Buckingham, Jr., Associate Professor of Industrial Management at Georgia Institute of Technology, cited twelve cases of automation, from chocolate manufacture to railroad traffic control, where the reduction in employe requirements ranged from 13% to 92%.

There is no disputing the fact that automation can cause profound changes in American industry. The question that remains is: how fast is it moving and how far can it go?

Negotiators

IUE negotiators Robert Nellis and James B. Carey arrive at Washington office of federal mediator Joseph Finnegan for another attempt to settle the Westinghouse strike. According to latest reports March 7 the "package deal" proposed by federal mediators is still unacceptable to strikers. The company refused to back down on its firing of union militants on charges of alleged picket line violence.

Dunne Welcomed To Los Angeles With Big Banquet

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 18—The Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party welcomed a new chairman and bade farewell to its old one at a large and enthusiastic banquet tonight.

Vincent R. Dunne, formerly chairman of the Minnesota SWP and for more than four decades a leading union and Socialist figure in the Northwest, took up his new duties at the head of the LA organization. Tom Kerry, chairman in LA for the past two and one-half years and a veteran unionist and Socialist fighter left to assume new tasks in the National Office of the SWP in New York. Karolyn Kerry, a militant Socialist for many years, also left for NY.

The banquet was attended by the largest audience at a Socialist Workers Party affair in several years. After the speeches, two sympathizers applied for membership in the party. Several others, present for the first time in the SWP hall and hearing the party's program for the first time, expressed interest in joining in the near future.

The principal address of welcome to Vincent R. Dunne and farewell to Tom and Karolyn Kerry was given by James P. Cannon, founder of the Socialist Workers Party. Other speakers included Dunne, Tom Kerry, Karolyn Kerry and Milton Alvin. Howard Rowney acted as toastmaster.

Who Owns Buses In Montgomery?

By Herman Chauka

The Negro people in Montgomery who have conducted the effective boycott against the bus system in protest against Jim Crow are fighting a notorious union-busting outfit dominated by Northern capital. A study of the profit interests involved in the Montgomery dispute reveals two things: The union of Big Business interests in the North with the Southern segregators; and secondly, the need for the union of the Montgomery Negroes fighting Jim Crow and the labor movement of the North who have the same enemy.

For thirty-six days the Baltimore transit workers have been on strike. On March 6 they voted, under protest, to return to work after the Maryland governor "seized" the struck transit system. The Baltimore transit workers may not have been aware of it, but they are fighting the same profit interests that nearly 50,000 people are combatting in Montgomery.

A major investor in the struck Baltimore transit system is the National City Lines, owner of the Montgomery, Ala., bus system. The Negro community has cost this union-busting outfit an estimated minimum of $3 000 a day for the last three months with an effective anti-Jim Crow boycott.

The Baltimore transit workers are not the only sector of the labor movement that is being strengthened by the Montgomery boycott movement. National City Lines, with headquarters in Chicago, is a powerful nation-wide transit trust with a long and odious anti-union record. Its Board of Directors is manned by some of the biggest financial tycoons in the country.

Information gathered by Robert L. Birchman, publicity and research director for the Illinois National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reveals the following important facts about National City Lines:

RULES IN 40 CITIES

This giant trust is a holding company with wholely owned subsidiaries in more than 40 cities that handle over four million passengers a day. It has major investments in other transit companies handling millions of additional passengers.

Its Board of Directors include such figures as Laurence M. Marks, a big-time Wall Street investment banker and former governor of the New York Stock Exchange. Marks has a big finger in the quarter billion dollar Brooklyn Savings Bank and is a director of Shamrock Oil & Gas Company of Amarillo, Texas. Shamrock Oil is controlled by the Mellon family of Pittsburgh.

Another big wheel on the National City Lines is C. Frank Reavis, also of Wall Street. Reavis is also on the board of such corporations as the Northwest Airlines and the Bohack grocery chain. In addition he is a member of the board of the Philadelphia Transit Company which has waged war for years against the Transport Workers Union. Mr. Reavis, along with other National City Lines directors, is on the board of the struck Baltimore transit outfit.

Another National City Lines director is D. H. Pratt. In addition to his seat on the board of the Baltimore line, Pratt is President of the Philadelphia Transit Company.

ATLANTIC TO PACIFIC

On the West Coast, where National City Lines operates the transit system in more than a dozen California cities, one of their directors is an E. C. Houghton of Los Angeles. Houghton is also connected with the Los Angeles Transportation System, which is controlled by National City Lines. The labor-hating record of the Los Angeles Transportation system equals that of its parent organization.

The same Houghton, along with another National City Lines director, R. Stewart Moore, is also involved in the management of the Key System Transit Lines, which operates the lines connecting San Francisco with Berkeley, Oakland and other Bay Area communities.

The president of National City Lines is E. Roy Fitzgerald of Chicago. He is at the same time chairman of the board of the St. Louis Public Service Corporation. In addition he holds directorships in the Baltimore line as well as the subsidiaries in Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Can there be any question that the Negro people of Montgomery, in their fight for justice, are lending direct aid to the American trade union movement? When they succeed in trimming National City Lines down to size in Montgomery, can there be any doubt that this will strengthen the hand of labor in their dealings with this union-hating outfit? This fact alone should be sufficient to make the union movement understand that its own self-interest dictates that it throw its full weight behind the people of Montgomery who are "walking for freedom."

. . . Report from Alabama Legislative Session

(Continued from page 1)

represented either. A few thousand votes from the rural areas dominated by the plantation owners send more representatives here than the state's major population centers.

I left the ancient hall and went into the streets of Montgomery to ask a few people what they thought of the legislation introduced the day before.

The bill to "spread the Negroes through the North" was taken seriously by no one. Said a white gas station attendant: "Those fellows on the hill must be getting panicky. I wish they wouldn't do things like that. I'm for segregation, but you can't make people leave their homes."

A white taxi driver commented, "If they cancel my debts and give me a train ticket, I'll leave Alabama too."

The other two measures, to establish "subversive" investigation and to reveal the names of petitioners were taken more seriously.

"TIE 'EM UP IN THE LAW"

Said one lean white man: "I don't think they'll get anywhere with this boycott. That Lucy gal didn't get anywhere. This legislation ties 'em up, and throws a scare into 'em. That's about what we've got to do. Tie 'em up in the law. They won't get nowhere."

This man spoke calmly, without apparent anger, as did all the whites I talked to with the exception of one. He said, "I'd like to get my hands on that list of nigger-lovers [the petitioners for reinstatement of Miss Lucy]. We know how to deal with them kind." It is this minority that dominates by terrorizing whites as well as Negroes.

Most whites simply wouldn't talk with strangers about the Montgomery bus boycott, but they talk about Miss Lucy more freely.

Certainly there is no obvious wide-spread hysteria at the present moment. Life goes on as usual, and ordinary subjects start conversations off. It often touches the Lucy case or racist legislation, which subjects appear on the front pages of the newspapers. But there seems to be reluctance to speak about the Montgomery events.

I asked a white carpenter what he thought of the "boycott." He said: "I don't own the bus company."

"Do you think the bus company should grant their demands?"

"No."

"Then what do you think the bus company should do?"

"I don't know. I don't own the bus company. As far as I'm concerned they can keep walkin' forever. It don't hurt me none."

Some whites dare to express sympathy to the "protest." Aubrey Williams, publisher of the Southern Farmer and an outspoken opponent of Jim Crow for many years, appeared at the courthouse to offer bond for the arrested protest leaders. His money was not needed. However, he was the only white to do so.

"TAKE A TAXI"

One white woman behind the counter of a store where I had stopped hesitated when I asked how to get to a certain address. "Well," she said, "There's a bus goes out there. That is if you want to take a bus." She hesitated again. "If you've got the money you can take a taxi." I thanked her and turned. As I passed through the door she called after me. "I always walk myself, lately. It's spring, you know."

The files of the local paper, the Montgomery Advertiser, reveal that at the beginning of the protest movement last December there was widespread sympathy among whites with the protest. Letters to the editor citing instances of rudeness toward Negroes on the buses are not uncommon in the December issues of the paper. Even the editors themselves admitted that the Negroes had "legitimate grievance."

Since the three-man city commission joined the White Citizens Council, and the Mayor announced his get tough policy, however, the paper has blacked out all news of the movement except official statements and legal actions, and has adopted a friendly tone toward the WCC.

One of the protest leaders told me, "When it became known that a certain white woman had helped us out a little when this protest first began, she was hounded by phone calls in the middle of the night, and threats, and I don't know what all. Why they made that poor woman so nervous she had to leave this town she'd been living in all her life. She had to go away to get a rest."

Everyone agrees that the strength of the WCC has grown considerably since the Montgomery and Tuscaloosa events. Its membership in this county has been estimated at 12,000.

THE MIDDLE CLASS

The meeting held here Feb. 10 at which Senator Eastland spoke was attended by about that many. A white reporter who had been there said, "I was surprised at the character of the people there. I had expected a bunch of ignorant farm hands and factory workers, but the crowd appeared almost entirely middle class."

Applications for WCC membership are easy to get. I picked one up in the white waiting room of a railway station. Ads from the WCC occasionally appear in the newspapers.

This is pre-election time here and statements from politicians that they are willing to "die" for segregation are not uncommon, but I have yet to hear a white worker say anything like that. As I have said, they don't talk freely with strangers, but in my opinion that is also significant. I have talked to many white racists before, and they were always obnoxiously outspoken about their attitude. This is certainly not the case here among the ordinary people.

When I met a Negro reporter and asked him what he thought about the Montgomery situation, the first thing he said was, "There sure are a lot of smiles." This I observed also. The Negro people I saw on the streets looked very happy, as if it were a wonderful holiday.

And they had good reason to be smiling. **None, absolutely none of the Negroes are seen on any bus.**

The WCC's are semi-secret organizations, controlled from the top. They are not yet a mass movement, but are capable of effectively intimidating by economic pressure and physical violence any whites who sympathize with the struggle of the Negroes for equality. But they can't intimidate the Negroes, at least not in Montgomery. That is the big thing here. And it has many of the white racists confused. The old weapons just don't work anymore.

THE FEAR IS GONE

A number of students at the Negro Alabama State College here told me that a cross had been burned on the Negro campus the day before Miss Lucy was to attend her first class at Alabama University. "We just all went out and watched it. No one ran to hide. These things don't scare us anymore," said one student.

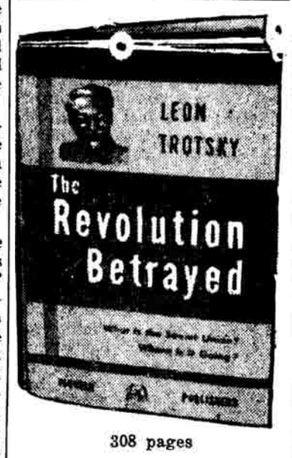
Another student said, "As inadequate as this little Jim Crow College is for the needs of Negroes in Alabama, many of our finest graduates move out of the state, and our people never get the benefit of their education. You can't blame them. I had planned to move out myself. But this boycott has changed my mind. It might change others. We've acquired dignity, and we are going on to get justice."

I asked them about the reported firings of Negroes who had participated in the bus boycott.

"You don't seem to understand," one young student said, "Nothing is going to scare us."

And another: "I think very few lost jobs. It was just a rumor to scare people, but it only made them mad."

And another: "These department stores and businesses downtown aren't going to fire anyone. They could be too easily affected by a boycott themselves."



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Britain's Stake in the Island of Cyprus

By George Maxim

As British imperialism is driven from one stronghold after another in the Middle East, it becomes all the more determined not to yield self-determination rights to the population of the island of Cyprus — its last military base in the area. Its need to hold on to Cyprus was driven home again last week when Jordan's King Hussein gave walking papers to British Lt.-Gen. John Bagot Glubb ("Glubb Pasha"), builder and head of the British-financed Jordinian Arab Legion.

This is a modern armed body of 20,000 created by British imperialism as a police force against Arab nationalism in the Middle East. Hussein acted following mass demonstrations in Jordan last December and January against the country's joining the Baghdad anti-Soviet Pact.

COMMAND POST

Previous to its defeat in Jordan, the British empire lost strongholds in Palestine, Greece (where they turned over control to U.S. imperialism) and Suez. When England abandoned the Suez Canal base — pushed out by the Egyptian revolution—she made Cyprus her Middle East command post, moving all her equipment and troops from the Canal to Cyprus. Millions have been spent in building a huge base at the Episkope Bay. Airdrome runways are made to handle not only conventional bombers but aircraft which can carry atom bombs as well.

Cyprus—40 miles from Turkey, 60 miles from Syria and 260 miles from Suez — is also a NATO military base. It serves joint needs of British and U.S. imperialism in their struggle against the Arab independence movement and in Wall Street's war plans against the Soviet Union. **But the effectiveness of Cyprus as a strong NATO base is reduced when the troops have to be used to quell uprisings on Cyprus itself. This is what has been happening for the last year.**

The Cypriotes, seeing the solid British entrenchment on their island and Britain's predicament in the Middle East decided to raise old issues of their own for settlement. The main one of these is **enosis**, or independence leading to union with Greece. Last Spring, the first open attacks began on British rule. These took the form of terroristic attacks on British installations. The moves were conducted by an underground right-wing terror group, the E.O.K.A., apparently financed by the Greek government.

WORKERS AND STUDENTS

However, of far greater significance is the struggle for enosis waged by the strongly organized working class. (Communist Party mayors run the second, third and fourth largest town on the island.) On Sept. 29 the Stalinist-controlled labor federation (membership, 18,000) united with the rival non-Stalinist confederation of workers in a 24-hour general strike for "enosis." It was called in protest of the United Nations Security Council's refusal to put the Cyprus demands on its agenda. In addition the students have conducted militant actions against the British.

The official leader of enosis is Archbishop Makarios, who speaks for the Greek Orthodox Church, the Cypriotes in general and the Greek mainland. He advocates passive resistance and has been handling negotiations with England. Despite his own lack of militancy, he is under pressure from both the terrorist wing of the enosis movement, the working class and the students not to sell out to the British.

Following the general strike, the British government put Cyprus on a war footing. It dispatched Field Marshall Sir John Harding to the island as Governor. His bloody record as a defender of imperialism in Malaya and Kenya made him the right man for the job. Harding rushed more troops into Cyprus and now commands a force of nearly 20,000 (including paratroopers brought in last month for possible action in Jordan). He proclaimed the death penalty for any Cypriotes carrying arms, public whippings for disobediance of orders and wholesale fines for villages refusing to co-operate.

Harding opened direct negotiations with the Greek government and Archbishop Makarios on the issue of Cyprus. The British government is willing to concede "self-rule" within the Commonwealth. This, however, would retain complete control of foreign affairs and military matters in British hands. Last week negotiations between Makarios and British Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd collapsed over refusal of the British government to grant independence at any time.

NIGHT OF TERROR

Cyprus figures not only in the crisis of imperialism in the Middle East, but also in a breakdown of NATO at its eastern end. It has disrupted the Turkish-Greek alliance promoted by the United States and created strong anti-U.S. popular sentiment in Greece because of Washington's support of the British stand in Cyprus. Of the 500,000 Cypriote population, 400,000 are of Greek descent, and 100,000 of Turkish. Claiming the need to safeguard the Turkish minority, the Ankara government backs British determination to hold on to Cyprus. On the night of Sept. 6 it instigated savage race-riots against the Greek population living in Turkey.

"This night of terror was kept on ice for weeks," wrote Noel Barber in the London Daily Mail, "organized just as a sort of D-Day to be let loose at a given propitious moment. All the evidence points to an exact, perfectly co-ordinated attack. The flame that swept the city was ignited at a hundred different points at precisely the same zero hour." Shops were burned and looted, old women and men tortured and beaten to death, tombstones and mausoleums ripped open and the bones thrown into the streets. Greek churches were gutted and sacked. For good measure the mobsters handed a beating to the Jewish and Armenian minorities as well.

When the U.S. State Department failed to denounce this outrage and voted with Turkey and England in the UN to keep Cyprus a British possession, it was the last straw as far as the Greeks were concerned. "Greece must leave NATO," wrote the editors of the right-wing newspaper Ethnos in Athens. "Greece cannot remain inside this jungle of crooks and blackmailers."

A wave of neutrality sentiment swept over Greece, and there is no doubt that the Cyprus crisis contributed heavily to the strong anti-U.S. showing in the Feb. 19 Greek elections. The Democratic Union, a popular front of seven parties, including the Stalinists won a 52% majority of the popular vote. The National Radical Union of Premier Karamanlis, committed to support of U.S. imperialism, won control of the Chamber of Deputies only because of a tricky election procedure.

Cyprus is only one link in a chain of many colonial revolts. For imperialism is not just in crisis in one area or country. Its malady and decay is worldwide. Up to a year ago it was the Asian revolution that took the center of world politics. Today it is the Middle East and North Africa that is ablaze. **Soon world imperialism will be trying to put down colonial revolts simultaneously all around the world. In their magnificent struggle to determine their own fate, the Cypriotes join with all other peoples fighting for national independence, shaking world capitalism to its very foundations.**

Natalia Trotsky Demands Justice

On Feb. 22, Natalia Trotsky sent the following wire to the presidium of the 20th Congress, CPSU, Moscow:

"Taking note of declarations at Congress establishing falsification in history of revolution and of party, and in condemnations of leaders of revolution and of party who were falsely accused as enemies of the people. Among them [the falsely accused] my late husband Leon Trotsky who was called public enemy number one and my son Leon Sedov. As practical consequence of these declarations, I demand review of trials in order to vindicate memory of victims before international public opinion."

In addition to this telegram, Natalia Trotsky sent the following letter to the Soviet government addressed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; K. E. Voroshilov, Kremlin, Moscow:

"Numerous news items have appeared in the press announcing the liberation of persons who have been held in prisons and camps. It is said that some among them have had the right to return to their homes.

"Therefore, I ask you to tell me the fate of my son Serge Sedov who for a time lived in the Kremlin.

"Twenty years have passed since the moment when we learned that Serge had been arrested. Since then, I have received no direct news either of the place where he stays or of his fate, having had only indirect indications according to which Serge had been deported to Novosibirsk, then to Vorkuta, and that from there he had been transported in the direction of Moscow, and after that nothing.

"I turn to you with this endeavor, in the feeble hope that my son is still alive and perhaps is to be found among those who have been freed after review of their cases. I hope that I will be given this information."

A N. Y. Times dispatch from Moscow, March 5, reports: "A spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press department said today he had no information about an appeal by Mme. Trotsky to the Presidium of the Soviet Communist party to reinstate her husband's name. The outlook, he said, is that no reply will be made to her entreaty."

Natalia Trotsky's demand for elementary justice must be supported vigorously. She has taken the Kremlin leaders at their word and demanded that they produce a deed. If the Stalin cult did lead to falsification of history and the frame-up of revolutionary leaders, as Khrushchev and Bulganin admitted in the case of Tito and have now extended to cover 20 years of Stalin's rule, how can the Kremlin fail to meet Natalia Trotsky's demand for a review of the case of Trotsky and Sedov? And the case of Trotsky and Sedov opens the cases of tens of thousands of revolutionists who perished in the blood purges and show trials of the Thirties.

It is not a question of speculating about the sincerity of the Kremlin leaders. They have not repudiated the Stalin cult out of a sense of revolutionary justice, but as terrified bureaucrats hoping to throw a sop to the masses and thereby postpone the day of reckoning. It is a question of bringing to bear the weight of world opinion of the radical and labor movement and thereby helping to tear down the whole Stalinist system of frame-ups and lies. That will be a real service to the Russian working class and to the world socialist revolution.

Hue and Cry over Tanks

One of the most sickening spectacles of recent times was the hue and cry raised by the liberals over the revelation that the U.S. State Department was sending 18 M-41 tanks to Saudi Arabia. Here is what was involved:

When news of the tank shipment broke, Feb. 16, the Democratic party liberals screamed in protest. They charged it was a move to strengthen Saudi Arabia militarily against Israel.

Secretary of State Dulles explained to a Congressional committee, Feb. 24, that "There is no problem . . . about those tanks ever being used against Israel, because the desert makes them impassable for these tanks."

"The purpose of the tanks," Dulles said, "is to maintain internal security."

Hanson W. Baldwin, N. Y. Times military analyst comments, "In this conclusion the Secretary of State is probably correct. There has been considerable restlessness and some open rioting in Saudi Arabia, and resentment has been expressed against the British. A few tanks might add immeasurably to the prestige and police power of the government."

Not one word of protest was uttered by the liberals regarding this explanation. The "freedom loving" liberals think it is perfectly all right to send tanks to shoot down workers and peasants who oppose imperialism, but they suspect that Dulles is not telling the whole story, and that the tanks will also be used to buy Arab support against the American liberal-backed Israeli faction of imperialist agents in the Middle East.

East Germany and the Stalin Cult

When Stalin died the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany said in its March 20, 1953 message to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Stalin was the immediate militant colleague of the great Lenin. He brilliantly continued and further enriched Lenin's cause. His work is immortal."

Now, three year later, Stalin's "immortality" has expired. Walter Ulbricht, East Germany's Stalinist chief, has taken the cue from the 20th Congress of the CPSU and denounced the Stalin cult. In an article published March 4, Ulbricht says:

"When one is asked by comrades, 'Does Stalin belong to the classical authors of Marxism?' one can only reply: Doubtless, after the death of Lenin, Stalin rendered significant service in the building of socialism and in the fight against the hostile groupings of Trotskyites, Bukharinites and bourgeois nationalists. Neverthless, when Stalin later placed himself above the party and fostered the cult of the individual, the Soviet Communist party and the Soviet state incurred serious damages. One cannot reckon Stalin among the classics of Marxism."

It is significant that Ulbricht is the first Communist party leader outside of the Soviet Union to join in the Kremlin's repudiation of the Stalin cult. In East Germany the Stalinist rulers came face to face with the political revolution. On June 17, 1953 the entire industrial working class joined in the general strike in a brilliantly organized movement that demolished the East German native Stalinist regime. Only the tanks, firing squads and troops of the Kremlin forced the workers to retreat and prepare for a new opportunity.

The Stalinist slander that the East German uprising was sponsored and provoked by agents of Western imperialism was disproved not only by the explicit demands and socialist character of the movement, and by its all-embracing mass scope, but by the repercussions it had within the Soviet Union.

At the labor camp in Vorkuta, where hundreds of thousands of political prisoners were incarcerated by the Kremlin, the June 17 East German uprising was greeted with joy as a revolutionary socialist attack on Stalinism. One month later the Vorkuta general strike broke out.

Stalin's heirs, first under Malenkov and then under the "collective leadership" of Khrushchev, have been forced to take these events into account in their struggle for bureaucratic self-preservation. By a combination of concessions and repressions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union they have sought to cope with the rising tide of opposition to the abomination of the Stalinist system. The new areas of the Soviet orbit in Eastern Europe have brought fresh sections of the international working class into the process of political revolution against Stalinism.

At the same time the victory of the Chinese revolution has further broken the sense of isolation of the Soviet working class and has helped to stir them to new confidence and political activity. The Second World War, the growth of the Soviet proletariat, the emergence of a fresh and undefeated new generation, have likewise contributed to arousing new hope and vigor among the Russian workers. All this is indirectly reflected in the fact that the Kremlin has been forced to repudiate Stalin and to hint that it did not approve of his crimes.

By chopping off the head of the dead tyrant the bureaucratic caste hopes to save its own neck. But the bureaucrats want to put limits on their repudiation of Stalin. This is expressed in Ulbricht's statement that Stalin performed some service in fighting Trotskyism. By Trotskyism the Stalinists mean the program of the world socialist revolution, including the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

...Kremlin Admissions on Stalin Cult

(Continued from page 1)

party history. To cite only a single instance. The Outline History of the CPSU, in two volumes, by N. Popov, had passed by 1934 through 16 editions, revised over and over again, but still found inadequate. In 1938 Stalin issued his "History" and that ended the writing of party history.

"Scientific work," declared Mikoyan, "in the field of our party history and the history of Soviet society is the most backward sector of our ideological work."

"Is it normal," he went on to ask, "that having lived almost 40 years after October we do not have either a brief or a complete Marxist-Leninist textbook on the history of the October Revolution and the Soviet state, which would show, without varnishing, not only the facade but the whole many-sided life of our Soviet Fatherland?" Mikoyan omitted to say that the only genuine Marxist book on the October Revolution is Leon Trotsky's **History of the Russian Revolution**, written by him in exile.

"Up till now," continued Mikoyan, "we have had no genuine Marxist works on the period of the Civil War, either."

TROTSKY'S EXPLANATION

Before the Dewey Commission investigating the Moscow Trials, Trotsky explained why there were in the USSR no Marxist works on party history, Soviet history, history of the Civil War, etc. "From the time that I entered into opposition to the bureaucracy, its courtier-theoreticians began to call the revolutionary essence of Marxism — 'Trotskyism.' At the same time, the official conception of **Leninism** changed from year to year, becoming more and more adapted to the needs of the ruling caste.

"Books devoted to Party history, to the October Revolution, or to the theory of Leninism, were revised annually. I have adduced an example from the literary activity of Stalin himself. In 1918 he wrote that the victory of the October insurrection was 'principally and above all' assured by Trotsky's leadership. In 1924 Stalin wrote that Trotsky could not have played any special role in the October Revolution. To this tune the whole historiography was adjusted. This signifies in practice that hundreds of young scholars and thousands of journalists were systematically trained in the spirit of falsification. Whoever resisted was stifled." (Stalin's Frameup System and the Moscow Trials, pages 123-24.)

Mikoyan dismissed the Soviet philosophers with a scornful comment that they "were even more in debt to the party than the historians and the economists." From Mikoyan's own words it would follow that a sorrier condition is hard to imagine. In its theoretical bankruptcy the bureaucracy is a carbon copy of its dead leader. "Stalin's first qualification was a contemptuous attitude toward ideas" (Stalin, by Trotsky, page XV).

It was left for a woman delegate from Moscow, A. M. Pankratova, editor of the magazine **Questions of History** to disclose, among other things, that **many of Lenin's writings had been suppressed**, Lenin's role minimized, etc.

"Many important documents by Lenin," she admitted, "still remain unpublished. Certain of Lenin's articles and letters, included in the second and third editions of his **Collected Works** and in the **Sborniki** (Leninist Archives) were for some reason excluded from the fourth edition" (Pravda, Feb. 22). The truth is that all of Lenin's writings favorable to Stalin's political opponents and others unfavorable to him have been suppressed. Chief among these is Lenin's **Testament** in which Lenin broke, on his deathbed, with Stalin and demanded his removal from the post of Secretary; there is Lenin's voluminous correspondence with Trotsky, during and after the Civil War.

The genuine restoration of Marxism-Leninism is indeed the burning need in the USSR. A necessary precondition for such a restoration is the publication in the USSR of all the previously suppressed writings of Lenin; all the suppressed documents of the martyred Russian Left Opposition and all of the works of Leon Trotsky.

The repudiation of Stalin was carried out by the bureaucracy with ranks tightly closed. According to the Kremlin's own claims, it was prepared by the 1953 purge of the "Beria gang" and of the secret police, and by the party "cleansing" in preparation for the 20th Congress. About one-third of the members of the Central Committee elected at the 19th Congress in 1952 have been removed; the party apparatus of several Soviet republics, provinces and districts has likewise been shaken up. The main reporter Khrushchev alluded to this purge as follows: **"Regardless of who was involved, the CC, CPSU has submitted to Bolshevik criticism at its Plenums the activities of a number of party organizations and individuals. Certain workers who did not justify the high trust placed in them by the party, have been removed from the ranks of the Central Committee. It is hardly necessary to prove that the unity of the party did not lose but only gained thereby." (Izvestia, Feb. 15.)**

Under Stalin, ostentatious and bloody mass purges came each time the bureaucracy executed one of its zigzags in policy. Noteworthy of the purge under Stalin's successors is the ostentatiously "mild" manner in which it was carried through. The bureaucracy closed ranks to confront the Soviet masses, their further demands and pressure, as a united force.

WHY THE STALIN CULT?

In place of the Stalin cult, the bureaucracy hopes to introduce the cult of the "collective leadership." All the speakers from Khrushchev down paraded as "Leninists." Their repudiation of Stalin was made in the name of "restoring" Marxism-Leninism. But all of them kept silent on the decisive questions, namely: How and why did the Stalin cult arise? What were its social roots? What social function did it perform? Why did it dominate for so many years?

Without correct answers to these questions there can be no genuine struggle against the **leader cult** and against its **reappearance** in other forms. Stalin's successors shy away from the Marxist analysis of the leader cult precisely because it is inseparable from the rise of the bureaucracy itself.

In September 1936 Trotsky answered the foregoing questions as follows: "The increasingly insistent deification of Stalin is, with all its elements of caricature, a necessary element of the regime. The bureaucracy has need of an inviolable super-arbiter, a first consul if not an emperor, and it raises upon its shoulders him who best responds to its claim for lordship. That 'strength of character' of the leader which so enraptures the literary dilettantes of the West, is in reality the sum total of the collective pressure of a caste which will stop at nothing in defense of its position. Each one of them at his post is thinking: **l'etat—c'est moi** (I am the state). In Stalin each one easily finds himself. But Stalin also finds in each one a small part of his own spirit. Stalin is the personification of the bureaucracy. That is the substance of his political personality" (The Revolution Betrayed, page 277).

In April 1937, before the Dewey Commission investigating the Moscow Trials, Trotsky said:

"Neither Stalin nor I find ourselves in our present position by accident. But we did not create these positions. Each of us is drawn into this drama as the representative of definite ideas and principles. In their turn, the ideas and principles do not fall from the sky, but have profound social roots. That is why one must take, not the psychological abstraction of Stalin as a 'man,' but his concrete, historical personality as leader of the Soviet bureaucracy. One can understand the acts of Stalin only by starting from the conditions of existence of the new privileged stratum, greedy for power, greedy for material comforts, apprehensive for its position, fearing the masses, and mortally hating all opposition.

"The position of a privileged bureaucracy in a society which that bureaucracy itself calls Socialist is not only contradictory, but also false. The more precipitate the jump from the October overturn—which laid bare all social falsehood—to the present situation, in which a caste of upstarts is forced to cover up its social ulcers, the cruder the Thermidorian [counter-revolutionary] lies. It is, consequently, a question not simply of the individual depravity of this or that person, but of the corruption lodged in the position of a whole social group for whom lying has become a vital political necessity. In the struggle for its newly gained positions, this caste has reeducated itself and simultaneously reeducated — or rather demoralized—its leaders. It raised upon its shoulders the man who best, most resolutely and most ruthlessly expresses its interests" (Stalin's Frameup System and the Moscow Trials, page 123).

The cult of Stalin was to endure for 16 years after the above lines were written. It flourished until the tyrant died. Stalin's successors have already admitted enough of the abominations and crimes committed under his sway for every thinking worker and youth to undertake a review of the whole record of the struggle between the Soviet bureaucracy and Trotskyism. As Trotsky once said: "History here merges directly with living politics."

Revolutionist and Bureaucrat

Leon Trotsky (left) together with Lenin, led the workers revolution of 1917 in Russia against the Czar and the capitalists. Stalin (right) who headed the bureaucracy that developed in later years, crushed the revolutionary democracy of the young workers' state and built the cult that is now being repudiated by his heirs in the Kremlin.

The Revolt in Italian CP

An apparently long-brewing rebellion inside the Italian Communist Party — largest CP outside the Soviet bloc — flared in the open on March 3. Six hundred delegates to a conference of Democratic Communists marched through the streets of Rome shouting protests against the CP leadership. According to Arnaldo Cortesi in the March 4 N. Y. Times, they accused the Stalinist party tops "of being inept and lacking in courage to lead the Italian proletariat in a revolution against capitalism."

Most of the rebel leaders are former officers of partisan formations that fought the Nazis in Northern Italy after Mussolini's fall. The partisans, recruited in the main from the resurgent North Italian working class movement, were led principally by Communist party militants. What they wanted to achieve through the defeat of fascism was the creation of a workers' Italy.

CHARGE BETRAYAL

According to Cortesi's speeches at the meeting, the rebels accused the party directorate of abandoning the Marxist-Leninist line, of giving up the fight against capitalism and of behaving not like revolutionaries but like reformist socialists who believe that socialism may be attained by purely parliamentary means. They also accused the party leadership of violations of democracy in filling the top posts of the party's leadership. They made it clear that they did not want to break from the Communist Party but to obtain a voice in its councils. Above all, they want the party to hold democratic elections for top posts in the party leadership.

According to a report from Cortesi on the following day, the CP bureaucracy brought tremendous pressure to bear on the Democratic Communist delegates. At the session of March 4, only 200 were in attendance and these seemed in a hurry to conclude their deliberations. Although it may be that the particular conference of oppositionists wound up in a fiasco, this will not be the last of such manifestations.

A gulf divides the party leaders, made up of the worst sort of careerists and opportunists, from the party's working class cadre, numbering in the tens and possibly hundreds of thousands. It is thanks to this cadre that the Italian CP enjoys its great influence in the industrial working class. This cadre wants to fight for socialism and is growing restive against repeated sellouts by the Stalinist top leaders whose only concern is to execute maneuvers towards the Italian capitalist class decreed by the Kremlin.

A similar profound division between leaders and working class cadre exists in the French CP. The criticism and aspirations of the proletarian wing of the party were given voice last year in Andre Marty's book, The Marty Case. Marty — a legendary hero to the French working class because of his leading role in the 1919 mutiny of the French Black Sea fleet, when sailors refused to fight against the Soviet Union — had been expelled from the party in 1952 for "Trotskyism."

THE MILITANT

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Montgomery: The Power of Mass Action

Ever since the Southern white supremacists opened their campaign to maintain and extend Jim Crow patterns despite the Supreme Court ruling that public school segregation is illegal, Negroes all over the country have been asking, "What can we do? How can we fight back?"

The Mississippi trial and whitewash of the murderers of Emmett Till was a frustrating experience. Additional murders of Negro leaders added to the bitterness and demoralization.

Then came the magnificent boycott movement of 50,000 Negroes in Montgomery, Alabama, in protest against discrimination and mistreatment by the Montgomery City Lines.

For more than three months now, nothing — arrests of leaders, bombings of their homes, threats by the White Citizens Council, mass indictments of boycotters under the state anti-conspiracy act, false rumors of settlements and sell-outs by leaders — nothing has been able to weaken the boycott.

Transportation is organized and operated by the Negro community. Contributions taken up in the churches and sent by sympathizers from other states are used to buy gasoline and service a fleet of 300 automobiles which make regular runs from 46 pick-up points in the Negro districts.

Conscious of their strength, the Negro masses of Montgomery use their economic power in other ways, also.

According to the Mobile Beacon, Feb. 4, the White Citizens Council "let it be known that Negroes identified as leaders of the movement or supporters of the boycott would be fired from their jobs. This announcement caused Negroes to threaten a boycott of Montgomery's business establishments. White merchants immediately denied all support to the White Citizens Council and declared that they would not discharge any Negro employe for his participation in the bus boycott."

What is the secret of the strength of this remarkable Negro rights movement?

The **Cleveland Call and Post** admitted editorially on March 3: "Nobody, and that includes a lot of skeptical Negroes up North, expected the bus boycotters to make more than a spasmodic protest against the long-term indignities they have suffered at the hands of those who operate Montgomery's transportation system. Montgomery has no strong Negro press, no outstanding NAACP branch, and in the past, no single voice of established leadership to emerge as a modern Moses."

The key to the success thus far of the Montgomery boycott movement — and it holds an important lesson — is precisely the fact that it is based on direct mass action by Negro workers who are depending on themselves. They have not entrusted their fate to a conservative, compromising middle-class leadership. They are not inhibited or misled by Democratic or Republican ward-heelers urging them to rely on their liberal friends, on the courts or the legislatures.

When the whole working class follows suit, boycotts its oppressors and organizes not only transportation, but all of production for its own use, that will spell the end not only of the White Citizens Councils, but of the whole parasitical and tyrannical class that lives by exploiting others.

Double-Duty Words

By Joyce Cowley

There are times when even the warmest supporters of modern capitalism find it a little hard to take, so they try to gloss over some of its harsher aspects with double-duty words that imply one thing and actually mean something quite different. For instance, it sounds a lot nicer when you are talking about murder and terrorization of Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama if you refer to "the traditions and habits of the South." There's another example in the latest issue of one of those confidential reports, "Babson's Salescaster," which has a short article on the increasing "labor surplus."

Surplus is a positive sort of word that suggests an abundant supply. It would be too crude to call the situation a shortage of work, or even more concisely, unemployment. But that's what they mean. At present there are 18 major areas and about a hundred smaller localities where there is a substantial labor surplus. They tell salesmen to put less effort into these areas and suggest that they get details from the U.S. Bureau of Employment Security. That's the name of the bureau that gives out figures on how many workers are not exactly secure, or even employed.

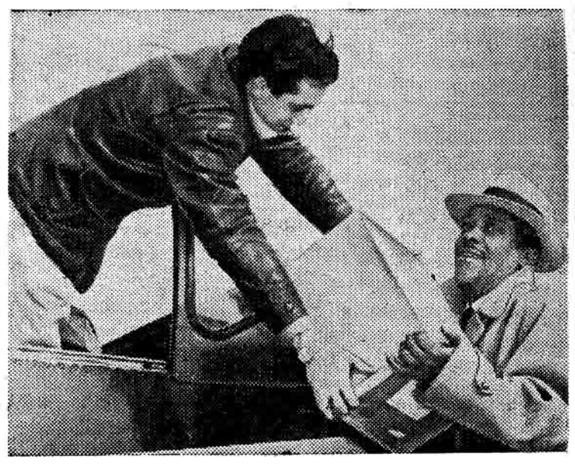
Another article in the same Salescaster is called, "When a Consumer Loses a Week's Pay." It starts off by saying that the Westinghouse strike reveals a good deal about the real economic position of the "wage earner," and then proceeds to take up the difficulties of white collar employes making from $5,000 to $10,000 a year. Because of the strike, they have been working every other week and they are now in serious financial straits because of "inadequate financial reserves." Many cannot even meet the usual rent, phone, heat and gasoline bills. No mention is made of the Westinghouse strikers who have **not** been working every other week but I suppose their financial reserves are inadequate, too.

The difficulty, according to this article, is that people have been "living it up," a colorful phrase that suggests a life of dissipation and luxury, appealing but unfamiliar to the average wage earner. I suppose it actually refers to his pay and he lives that up all right, but on prosaic items like rent, groceries and shoes for the kid. The Salescaster concludes that people ought to "sock more of their earnings away for that eventual rainy day."

The fellow who wrote this piece was evidently not paying much attention to the slogan at the top of the page: "HIGH SALES ACTIVITY IS THE MASTER KEY TO OUR SUPERIOR STANDARD OF LIVING." If people start "socking it away," who's going to buy all the TV sets, the appliances and the cars? Failure to sell the stuff will create an even greater "labor surplus," including salesmen. It will also mean a lot of "surplus merchandise," another one of those misleading terms that implies we have too much of something. It's really merchandise those surplus workers need badly but can't afford to buy.

There's another kind of surplus the propagandists don't mention at all — surplus value. That's the amount the workers produce but never get because the boss puts it in his pocket and calls it a "fair profit." If the wage earners could get hold of that extra money, they would be able to buy all the TV sets and cars that we're producing, and pay cash, too. It would solve the whole problem except that it would make the boss himself sort of surplus, and he prefers to see the workers in that spot.

Propaganda War in U.S.



Al Benson, Chicago disc jockey, hands 5,000 copies of the U.S. Constitution to air pilot. They were showered on Jackson, Miss. The propaganda bombing was returned by disc jockey Allen English of Oxford, Miss. who dropped 20,000 paper Confederate flags March 2 on Chicago.

Chicago Unions, NAACP to Rally

CHICAGO, March 1—A resolution calling for a gigantic mass rally to be organized by labor, Negro, church, community and other groups, presented jointly by Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago NAACP, and Charles Hayes, Director of District One UPWA AFL-CIO was adopted unanimously at the conclusion of a jam-packed meeting of over 3,000 last night at the Greater Bethesda Baptist Church.

The crowd was in a fighting mood and the joint Labor-Negro Church leadership of the meeting was far more responsive than at the Emmett Till mass demonstration in Chicago six months ago. The militant workers and their families filled the church to capacity. They lined up in the back and around the aisles, overflowed into the adjoining community house and then out into the surrounding streets where loud speakers were set up. The meeting was sponsored by the United Packinghouse Workers of America and actively supported by the NAACP.

FBI CONDEMNED

Dr. T. M. R. Howard, the guest speaker, summed up the struggle in the South since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 and called the roll on the Negro leaders who had given their lives in the fight. Enthusiastically supported throughout, Dr. Howard received thunderous applause when he condemned J. Edgar Hoover for the failure of the FBI to arrest the men in the South known to be guilty of racist murder.

Mississippi Senator Eastland's place as chairman of the Senate committee in charge of investigating un-American activities is amusing, said Howard. Eastland, himself, should be the first one investigated for his open flouting of the U.S. constitution. The NAACP is proposing that all the parliamentary steps be taken to expel Eastland from the Senate. (Eastland has since been appointed chairman of the powerful senate Judiciary Committee by the Democratic Party majority.—Ed.)

"We are enlisted for the duration," was the message that Dr. Howard brought to the meeting from Reverend King and the other leaders of the Alabama protest action against bus segregation, as their answer to the stepped-up attacks of the White Citizens Council.

A tremendous ovation was given to his call for support of the Powell proposal to stop work for one hour across the nation—"to wake up some people that there is a cancer in our society" and again when he condemned the policy of "gradualism" held by people in high places. To a doctor, said Dr. Howard, this is as sensible as prescribing aspirin for a ruptured appendix.

Dr. Howard had teen-aged Willis Lee on the platform with him and demanded of Chicago that it take care of the boy and his relatives who had stood up so courageously and testified, in the face of death, against his white masters. The meeting responded generously.

Thousands of dollars were collected at the meeting directly and also union contributions were made for support to the struggle in the South.

Ralph Helstein, international president of the UPWA pointed out that it is no accident that in the very Southern states where the attack against Negroes is most ferocious the wage scales are lowest for whites as well; and that the law used to indict 115 bus boycotters was first passed through the Alabama state legislature for the specific purpose of defeating a strike of coal miners.

Russell Lasley, international vice-president of the UPWA, who spoke briefly, expressed the sentiments of the meeting when he called on the North to follow the example of those who are leading the militant struggle in the South. **"Let's stop pussyfooting around and start moving. This is the midnight hour. We want the right to send our people to the school of their choosing. And it just might be," he said, "that we don't intend that when they come out they're relegated to wrapping their diplomas around a mop handle."**

...Civil Rights Rally

(Continued from page 1)

demagogy. Whereas Scott had portrayed the Republican Party as the true friend of the Negro people and responsible for what gains have been made in the past, Butler reversed the picture, the Democrats deserved the credit for the Negro people's hard-won gains.

Every time Butler exposed one of his opponent's claims, the audience applauded heartily, as it had when Scott was exposing the Democrats. When Butler wound up with some outrageous whoppers, such as blaming the Republicans for the non-passage of civil rights legislation—simply gliding over the fact that Congress is Democrat-controlled, Congressman Scott took the unexpected step of demanding time for a rebuttal. Discomfited, Butler announced that he had made his speech and would not want time to answer Scott's rebuttal.

TALKING TO SOUTH

Scott: "I have a few questions to put to Mr. Butler. Question one: Would he make the same speech — that he has made here tonight — down South?"

This brought the house down with laughter, applause and shouts of "Would You?" "How About It?" "Answer, Answer."

Scott: "Question number two is about Eastland. What will Mr. Butler, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, do to get the Southern Democrat committee chairmen to do their duty? What time, Mr. Butler, is your appointment with Senator Eastland? Because if Mr. Butler can't stand up like a couple of his party's Senators did (reference to Lehman and Morse's voting against making Eastland head of the Senate Judiciary Committee) he should at least ask Senator Eastland to step aside so we can get some action from that committee on civil rights legislation."

At this point pandemonium broke loose. There was cheering, applause, and shouts to Butler of "What About Eastland?"

Scott now followed up: "Mr. Butler has said nothing — no advances — have been made since 1953. If you had come here to Washington three years ago, could you have had this conference arranged so easily?" In unison, the audience responded, "No!"

Scott: "Could you have gone into the hotels equally as you have now?" The audience again responded, "No!"

Scott: "In restaurants with everybody else?" Audience: "No!"

Scott: "The Democrats are long on promises, but short on performance!" The audience responded this time with a mass "Yes."

BACKFIRES

Then the Republican Congressman, who seemed to be playing the audience like a pipe organ, tried a piece of demagogy that broke the spell.

Scott: "But the Republican Party is the party of performance." Instead of the expected Yes, pandemonium broke out. There were shouts of "No! No!" catcalls, hoots and roars of laughter.

Despite his prior refusal of rebuttal time, Butler was forced by shouts of the audience to go to the speakers stand. Even then, shouts of "Eastland! Eastland! Tell us about Eastland!" continued for some time.

No longer looking like the liquor ads' "man of distinction," but flushed and obviously upset, Butler threatened not to answer unless the shouting ceased. As quiet ensued, he tried the dignified gambit: "I accepted the invitation of Mr. Wilkins to debate with Mr. Leonard Hall (Chairman of the Republican Party). I do not propose to insult you by debating with any lesser spokesman tonight." Here he was interrupted by shouts of "Eastland! Eastland! What about Eastland?" and "What Would You Say Down South?"

When the audience had again quieted, Butler began, "About Mr. Scott's silly question about whether I would make this same speech down South . . ." Here he was again interrupted by shouts of "Would You?" and "Yes or No?" Irritated, he called out, "Listen and I'll tell you. Before I made this speech the Democratic National Committee released my speech to every major press service in the country to be distributed to every part of the country."

Taken in by this tricky evasion, a part of the audience began to applaud. Seizing the opportunity, Butler left the speakers stand and took his seat. Nor could the repeated cries of "Eastland! Eastland!" bring him back to the hotspot he had just vacated.

Though the final applause, when the chairman concluded the meeting by thanking each speaker, showed that the Negro people still heavily favor the Democratic Party and will undoubtedly vote again for it if the Republicans are the only alternative, the audience's intervention in the speeches and playing off of one party against the other dramatically showed how few illusions it has about them.

The above account is given not only because of its political significance but because it was one of the few occasions on which the delegates to the Civil Rights Assembly were able to break through the carefully stage-managed procedure.

The other high spot of the assembly occurred Sunday night when victims of the Southern terror told a mass meeting their stories. There "witnesses" were not merely victims but courageous men and women fresh from the scene of battle and determined to return to the South.

The "witnesses" included Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, one of the leaders of the history-making bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. He described the events leading up to the mass protest and how it had become much more than a protest against the barbarous bus regulations but a challenge to Jim Crow itself.

Next L. A. Blackman of Elloree, South Carolina, narrated the dramatic story of the resistance of the Negroes of his town to the economic terrorism of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan.

Gus Courts of Belzoni, Mississippi, related how all sorts of pressure — the destruction of his prosperous business, threats of lynching — had been brought to bear on him before he was shot and nearly killed in the same fashion that his friend, Rev. G. W. Lee had been, and for the same reason — insisting on his right to vote.

The audience, visibly inspired, was lifted to its feet when the heroine of 1956 — Miss Autherine Lucy — appeared on the platform.

An article next week will discuss the achievements and shortcomings of the Assembly, the way it was stage-managed and the current within it.

72% of N. Y. Homes Are Substandard

Seventy-two per cent of the residential buildings in Manhattan are substandard according to a recently completed survey under New York Mayor Wagner's direction. Many violations resulted from conversion by landlords of single units into multiple dwellings. In block after block, one inspector said, houses built originally for one or two families now house as many as 25 families.

...Eastland Appointment

(Continued from page 1)

county grand jury refused to indict a white department store owner who had confessed to the killing of Dr. Thomas Brewer, a leader in the Negro community and former president of the Columbus branch of the NAACP.

As the racists continued to spill blood in defense of Southern "habits and traditions" recently defended by Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential aspirant continued his shameless campaign to curry favor with the Dixiecrats. With an air of sanctimonious piety, Stevenson asserted in Minnesota, March 2, that the North must eliminate its own discrimination against Negroes before "we cast a stone at Alabama."

The meaning of Stevenson's declaration was summed up in a March 3 editorial in the Montgomery Advertiser. Reporting Stevenson's speech, the editorial declared, "The Advertiser bears Adlai Stevenson a new respect for his honesty and stoutness in remarking on the American race issue." The same editorial asserts, "The South will ship itself express to hell in a handbasket before it will mix the races."

The self-exposure of the Northern Democrats as allies of the Dixiecrats has provoked a sharp reaction even from Negro leaders who support the Democratic party. Thurgood Marshall, leading legal counsel for the NAACP, in a March 3 radio broadcast, while maintaining his support to the Democrats, gave vent to his anger at Stevenson's stand. "I have a lot of difficulty in separating the Democratic party of Eastland and the Democratic party of Stevenson," he complained.

Speaking at Howard University, March 2, Rep. A. Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) had to level his fire at both Eisenhower and Stevenson. He accused the President of "passing the buck" and Stevenson of "double talking." Does not this whole situation raise point blank the need for a break with both parties? Until the Negro people in alliance with the unions builds a Labor Party what else will we get but "double talk" and "passing the buck"?

NEGROES KEEP UP FIGHT

But the neutral-on-the-side-of-racism course of the Republicans and Democrats have not prevented the Negro people from continuing to press their determined fight against segregation. Their pressure was again felt when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled March 5 that its previous ban on segregation in public schools also applies specifically to tax-supported colleges and universities.

Meanwhile in Montgomery 50,000 Negroes are giving eloquent expression to their understanding that when the chips are down it will be the mass movement of the Negro people, and not merely court decisions, that will wipe out segregation. The indictment of 100 of their number on a "conspiracy" charge has served only to increase their solidarity and militancy in the fight.

A vivid appraisal of the Montgomery movement was conveyed in a confidential letter to the Pittsburgh Courier from its correspondent Evelyn Cunningham. The editors considered the letter newsworthy and published it in their March 3 issue.

Miss Cunningham wrote: "The situation here is something like I've never in life seen. It's difficult to believe what these people are doing . . .

"It is my considered . . . opinion that this deal will be seen as bigger than the Supreme Court decision and that you ought to have somebody real close here for the next few months.

"I've never seen Negroes 'cool it' like these people. They KNOW they're right and they aren't going to quit for nothing or nobody . . . And they're slowly realizing that they've got a key to the whole race thing right in their pockets. In short, they don't give a damn what the white people do. They're ready, spiritually and psychologically, to be martyrs if needs be.

"Honest to God, I've never been prouder of being a Negro. . . . Forgive the sentimentality, but I'm moved."

"THE DEB'S CENTENNIAL" FEATURED IN WINTER FI

By Daniel Roberts

Another splendid issue of the Marxist quarterly, Fourth International — dated Winter 1955 — rolled off the press last week. Its feature article is The Debs Centennial, by James P. Cannon, honoring the memory of Eugene V. Debs, the great U.S. revolutionary socialist leader who died in 1926.

This is a companion piece to Cannon's inspiring account of the IWW published in the Summer F. I. It also goes with his Letters to a Historian, dealing with the early years of the Communist Party (another installment of Letters appears in this issue of the magazine) and his History of American Trotskyism, published in 1943.

The Debs Centennial is more than an appreciation of Debs. It is an evaluation of the Socialist Party associated with Debs' name from 1901 until his death. "The first rule for such an inquiry," says Cannon, "should be to dig out the truth and tell it; to represent the Debsian movement as it really was. Debs deserves this, and he can stand it, too. Even his mistakes were the mistakes of a giant and a pioneer. In an objective survey they only make his monumental virtues stand out more sharply in contrast."

Cannon focuses on Debs' concept of the all-inclusive socialist party. He calls it an experiment and draws the balance sheet once again for the benefit of new generations of socialist militants. He contrasts Debs' idea of the party to Lenin's conception of a revolutionary combat party recruited on the basis of a sharply defined program. Cannon explains why history gives the right to Lenin's conception, polemicizing on the way against those radicals today who want to revive Debs' unsuccessful experiment.

In The New Precedents in the Kutcher Case, the F. I. editors make a thorough review of "America's most sensational witch-hunt case in 1955." They summarize the impressive gains for civil liberties when nationwide public indignation two months ago forced the government witch hunters to restore his disability pension to the famous Socialist Workers Party fighter for civil liberties.

Trent Hutter, the Militant and F. I.'s capable movie, literary and art critic scores again with The Workers' Stake in Bourgeois Culture. He describes the divorce of the artist and the public under conditions of capitalist decay, and shows how socialism will again bridge the gap.

Leon Trotsky's essay, Nationalism and Economic Life, is reprinted from the April 1934 issue of Foreign Affairs magazine. Trotsky treats of the rebellion of man's productive forces against both private property relations and national boundaries. **He explains how the reactionary nationalism of fascism and the explosive character of U.S. imperialism stem from that rebellion. It is not difficult to extend Trotsky's analysis to explain Wall Street's present drive to World War III.**

The books reviewed in the Winter issue are Owen Lattimore's On The Politics of Outer Mongolia, John Perry's The Story of Standards and a pamphlet, The Challenge of Automation. The F. I. sells for 35c.

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